

Message Text

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FOR THE SECRETARY FROM SHERER

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE, PFOR, SG, PARM

SUBJ: CSCE: PARAMETERS FOR MANEUVER CBM

REF: STATE 133597

1. I MET WITH KOVALEV SUNDAY, JUNE 8, TO WORK OUT TACTICS IN SUPPORT OF AGREED PARAMETERS FOR CBM ON MANEUVERS, AS INSTRUCTED REFTEL. WE AGREED THAT I SHOULD SEE UK DELEGATION HEAD (HILDYARD), WHO IS NATO FLOOR LEADER ON CBM'S, ON MONDAY MORNING, JUNE 9, TO INFORM HIM OF LATEST SOVIET CONCESSION AND US JUDGEMENT THAT MANEUVER PARAMETERS NOW MEET ESSENTIAL WESTERN REQUIREMENTS. KOVALEV WILL SEE HILDYARD LATER IN THE DAY TO CONFIRM SOVIET CONCESSION AND RECEIVE UK REACTION.

2. I TOLD KOVALEV OUR DELEGATION WOULD DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO BRING ABOUT AGREEMENT ON THESE PARAMETERS, AS WE HAD BEEN INSTRUCTED TO DO. HOWEVER, I SAID THAT IN ALL FRANKNESS I DID NOT PERSONALLY THINK THESE PARAMETERS WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO ALL ALLIES AND NEUTRALS, AT LEAST NOT IN THE SHORT TIMEFRAME NOW REMAINING IF STAGE III IS TO BE HELD IN JULY. FURTHERMORE, I SAID, IF US AND SOVIET DELEGATIONS APPEAR TO BE TRYING TO PUSH THESE PARAMETERS THROUGH OVER OBJECTIONS OF SMALLER POWERS, MANY DELEGATIONS WILL RESIST SIMPLY BECAUSE THEY RESENT THE INFLUENCE OF SUPER-POWER CONDOMINIUM.

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3. I TOLD KOVALEV, AS I HAVE BEFORE, THAT MY PERSONAL JUDGEMENT WAS THAT A QUICK CONCLUSION OF NEGOTIATIONS ON MANEUVER PARAMETERS COULD ONLY BE ASSURED IF SOVIETS WOULD ACCEPT 300 KM AND 25,000 TROOPS, AND ADDED THAT IT MIGHT JUST BE POSSIBLE TO REACH AGREEMENT WITH PARAMETERS OF 300 KM AND 30,000 TROOPS. I STRESSED THAT IN MY PERSONAL JUDGEMENT EITHER OF THESE LATTER TWO COMBINATIONS WOULD TAKE MUCH LONGER TO GAIN ACCEPTANCE, AND REITERATED THAT PARAMETERS AS AGREED IN WASHINGTON WERE UNLIKELY TO BRING QUICK AGREEMENT.

4. I UNDERLINED REPEATEDLY THAT I WOULD WORK FOR AGREEMENT ON WASHINGTON PARAMETERS, BUT THAT I THOUGHT KOVALEV SHOULD BE AWARE OF OUR ON-THE-SPOT JUDGEMENT OF THE SITUATION. KOVALEV SEEMED TO HAVE SOME DOUBTS HIMSELF THAT WASHINGTON PARAMETERS WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO ALL DELEGATIONS HERE. HE KEPT REFERRING TO THE BROADER VIEW OF AUTHORITIES IN CAPITALS, AND SUGGESTED THAT I REPORT MY DOUBTS TO WASHINGTON, SINCE, AS HE PUT IT, OFFICIALS THERE SEEMED "CONFIDENT" THAT THE WASHINGTON PARAMETERS WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE.

5. IN FACT, MANY WESTERN AND NEUTRAL DELEGATIONS HERE HAVE BEEN CONVINCED THAT THE INFORMAL NEUTRAL COMPROMISE FIGURES (300 KM - 25,000 TROOPS - 21 DAYS) OFFERED A REALISTIC FINAL SOLUTION, AND THAT THE SOVIETS WOULD EVENTUALLY ACCEPT THESE FIGURES. SOVIET DEL HAS ALREADY HINTED TO NEUTRALS THEY COULD COME TO 250/25,000 OR 300/30,000. MANY ALLIES AND NEUTRALS ARE SERIOUSLY CONCERNED THAT A 30,000 TROOP THRESHOLD WOULD MEAN THAT MOST ANNOUNCEMENTS WOULD BE SOVIET MANEUVERS, PLUS ONLY ONE OR TWO NATO ANNOUNCEMENTS OF MAGNITUDE OF REFORGER. NEUTRALS WOULD BE VIRTUALLY UNAFFECTED BY MEASURE, GIVING THE CBM A BLOC-TO-BLOC CHARACTER, AND ELIMINATING THE POLITICALLY FUNDAMENTAL ALL-EUROPEAN CHARACTER OF THE PROVISION. IN FACT, SEVERAL IMPORTANT ALLIES HAVE INSTRUCTIONS NOT TO GO ABOVE A 20,000 TROOP THRESHOLD. IN ADDITION, THERE HAS BEEN AN INFORMAL ALLIED CONSENSUS THAT A 300 KM BORDER ZONE IS ESSENTIAL FOR VARIOUS POLITICAL REASONS OF PARTICULAR IMPORTANCE TO FRG, WITH FULL SUPPORT FROM FRANCE. ACTING
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ON BASIS OF EXTENSIVE PRELIMINARY CONSULTATIONS, AUSTRIAN COORDINATOR OF INFORMAL SUBCOMMITTEE MEETING ON JUNE 6 INTRODUCED 300 KMS AS AREA COMPROMISE THAT MIGHT ULTIMATELY BE ACCEPTABLE TO ALL. IN SUBSEQUENT STATEMENT, SOVIET AMBASSADOR MENDELEVICH DID NOT REPEAT NOT REJECT THIS FIGURE, BUT MERELY LINKED IT WITH AN ACCEPTABLE THRESHOLD. ALLIED DELS SIMILARLY REFRAINED FROM CRITICIZING AUSTRIAN PROPOSAL.

6. FOR ALL THE ABOVE REASONS WE FEAR THAT WASHINGTON
PARAMETERS WILL NOT REPEAT NOT BE WIDELY ACCEPTABLE AS A
QUICK SOLUTION.

7. AS THE UK AMBASSADOR DID NOT EXPECT TO BE IN HIS OFFICE
TODAY (MONDAY), I TELEPHONED HIM AT HOME TO REPORT THE PARAMETERS
WASHINGTON IS NOW PREPARED TO SUPPORT. HE HAD EVIDENTLY
NOT YET HEARD FROM CALLAGHAN AS HE TOOK VERY NEGATIVE VIEW
OF THIS DEVELOPMENT.
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